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Criticism of Selected Passages of "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry"

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

"Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry" (hereafter "20 Points" for short), cooked up by order of the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, is a sinister banner for capitalist restoration on the industrial front. It fanatically trumpets the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle; energetically peddles material incentives, putting profit in command, dictatorship by stereotype, management of factories by specialists and the slavish comprador philosophy that have been totally discredited and repudiated by us workers; and opposes putting proletarian politics in command, wholehearted reliance on the working class, the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our hands and regeneration through self-reliance, developing the initiative of both central and local authorities, and the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." The "20 Points" is a product of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Under the excellent situation marked by the victoriously developing struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we must fully utilize this teaching material by negative example to further expose Teng's reactionary features in opposing the great leader Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line.

The So-called "Foreword"

The "20 Points" pretentiously begins with an extract from Premier Chou En-lai's "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the 4th National People's Congress that deals with the realization of four modernizations. In that report Premier Chou stressed: "Socialist revolution is the powerful engine for developing the social productive forces," "While tackling economic tasks, our leading comrades at all levels must pay close attention to the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and keep a firm grasp on class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Only when we do well in revolution is it possible to do well in production." These most important words, however, were all dropped. By the tactic of chopping the head and keeping the tail, the "20 Points" publicizes revisionist contraband with stolen revolutionary phrases. Recently, criticizing the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Chairman Mao pointed out: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." What kind of stuff are the "modernizations" Teng Hsiao-p'ing vowed to promote at all costs? The answer was given by a band of counter-revolutionaries who engineered the recent counter-revolutionary incident at T'ienanmen Square. The "day when the four modernizations are achieved," a day of which they dreamed, was no more than the day when capitalism was restored. By a concrete analysis of the "20 Points," we may see clearly that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's claim to promote modernization is false while his opposition to revolution is real, and that his pledge to push production forward is false while his intention to pull down the red flag is genuine.

The So-called "General Program of Work"

/Text/ "Chairman Mao's directives concerning the study of theory, combating and preventing revisionism, stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward constitute a general program for all work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation. This key link must be firmly grasped if we are to accelerate the development of industry."

/Criticism/ Behind the back of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing put forward the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in an attempt to confuse the primary and secondary issues and replace the primary issue with the secondary. He tried to alter the Party's basic line by the abominable tactic of covering up the real facts. Between May and July last year, he described the "three directives" as "the key link for a period." A month later, in August, he described them as "the key link for all work." Then, between August and September the "20 Points" which he had concocted became the "General Program for All Work of the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the Whole Nation." It follows that Teng's "three directives as the key link" was not an accidental matter of "improper formulation," but a planned and organized action for restoration.

Chairman Mao points out: "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Recently, through the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind, we workers of Shanghai further raised our consciousness of class and line struggle and of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has given a strong boost to production. In the first quarter of this year, output in the light industry, chemical, instrument, electric power and other industries showed increases over the corresponding period of last year. When the key link is grasped, the situation will improve and production will rise step by step. This is powerful criticism of "taking the three directives as the key link" and a strong head-on blow to the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

So-called "Importing Advanced Technology"

/Text/ "It is necessary to stick to the policy of combining study with independent creation. It is imperative to study with an open mind all advanced and superior things from abroad, to import foreign advanced technology in a planned and appropriate manner and put it to our use in order to speed up the development of the national economy. We must insist on maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our hands and regeneration through self-reliance, and oppose the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of crawling behind others at a snail's pace. However, under no circumstances must we become cocky, close our doors and refuse to learn from the good things of other countries.

"It is necessary to combat not only the practice of copying things from others wholesale but also the practice of changing them and acting recklessly without learning to master them."

/Criticism/ Chairman Mao teaches us: "Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary." It is necessary to import some advanced technology from abroad, but the keynote in doing so must be regeneration through self-reliance. Countries which develop their economies by relying on others cannot possibly hold their fate in their own hands. As a socialist country, we must have an independent economic system and can only take our own road of industrial development. Innumerable facts prove that the Chinese people are entirely capable of catching up with and surpassing the world's advanced standards in the field of science and technology. However, the "20 Points" lauds foreign technology as having "much higher efficiency," consistently stressing the need to "study the good things of other countries" "as soon as possible," "with an open mind," and "swiftly." Please look at the facts: "building 10,000-ton freighters with 10,000 tons of effort," we have built an increasing number of ships and with increasingly better results. Yet they insisted on spending up to a million US dollars on importing a "scrap ship" discarded by the foreign capitalists. We built long ago such advanced equipment as turbo-generators with inner water-cool rotor and stator, yet they still wanted to accept out-dated generators produced by the Soviet revisionists in the 1940's and 1950's. They always fixed their eyes on other countries, stretched out their hands abroad, and begged from foreign bigshots such things as "advanced technology." Wasn't this an attempt to tie the fate of our industry to the belts of foreign capitalists?

Chairman Mao says: "Learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously, and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it." Foreign technology must be divided into two. Technical designs of capitalist countries serve the pursuit of the highest profits by the monopoly bourgeoisie and bear a clearcut class coat of arms. How can we use them without distinguishing the "white cat and black cat"? In Teng Hsiao-p'ing's eyes, all foreign things are "good things." He would angrily denounce anyone who criticizes and transforms the irrational elements of foreign things as being "cocky, and closing the doors," and would issue the order to prohibit "reckless changing and doing." This fully reveals his reactionary features as a slavish comprador.

So-called "Stepping Up the Export of Industrial and Mineral Products"

/Text/ "In order to accelerate the exploration of our country's coal and petroleum resources, we may -- on condition of equality and mutual benefit and according to such generally accepted practices as deferred payments and installment payments in international trade -- sign long-term contracts with other countries, fix a few production points to which they will supply whole sets of suitable modern equipment, and then pay them with the coal and crude oil we produce."

/Criticism/ To beg "advanced technology" and equipment from foreign capitalists, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing did not even scruple to pledge our country's precious natural resources as security. Falling to his knees, he did not hesitate to sell out our state sovereignty and

national dignity. This cannot but anger us workers. As we find out, not long ago the Soviet revisionist "Pravda" also advocated: "We must make fuller use of our country's natural resources and, to this end, we must absorb foreign capital and experience so that we may in the future pay back our loans with a part of the products produced by our construction projects." It is no wonder that this "major policy" advertised by Teng Hsiao-p'ing was "imported" from the Soviet revisionists!

According to this "major policy," we should import without restriction those things which we can produce and step up at all costs the export of those things which we need badly. If this state of affairs were allowed to continue, wouldn't our country turn into a market for the imperialists to dump their goods, into a raw material base, a repair and assembly workshop and an investment ground? Wouldn't we workers become wage laborers for foreign capitalists? To use our country's mineral reserves and labor with technology and equipment provided by foreign capitalists and let foreign bosses reap a huge fortune -- such things had been done before, by Li Hung-chang, Yüan Shih-k'ai, and the enemy of the people Chiang Kai-shek. We will never forget those days when foreign bosses were fattened by the blood and sweat of Chinese workers. If economic independence is lost, it will also be impossible to maintain political independence. By setting forth that "major policy," Teng Hsiao-p'ing in fact wanted to capitulate to imperialism and social-imperialism, to auction off our state sovereignty. This will never be tolerated by us workers!

So-called "Adjusting Enterprise Management"

/Text/ "Indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management is bound to cause anarchy."

/Criticism/ Enterprise management has a class character. In a class society, there has never been any above-class enterprise management. We oppose not only anarchism but also imposing on the worker masses bourgeois dictatorship in the form of "control, checks and coercion." By fabricating the rumor of "indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management," the "20 Points" merely resorts to the dirty tactics of "imposing on the enemy in a polemic the apparently foolish ideas and then refuting them." (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky") And its aim is to negate the achievements of struggle-criticism-transformation since the start of the great cultural revolution and to reverse the verdict passed on the revisionist line on running enterprises.

Since the beginning of the great cultural revolution, we have, in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive concerning doing a serious job of struggle-criticism-transformation, criticized the revisionist line on running enterprises and further confirmed the role of workers as masters of factories. Within enterprises the relations between people have undergone impressive changes. In Shanghai alone, the worker masses have created many forms of participation by workers in management in accordance with the fundamental principles of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and have moreover institutionalized them. We warmly hail such revolutionary

order! Taking the reactionary bourgeois stand, the "20 Points" smears our struggle-criticism-transformation as "indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management" and causing "management chaos," and submits that "it is necessary to readjust enterprise management and raise the management level." In reality it seeks to restore that kind of package consisting of "control, checks and coercion" before the great cultural revolution, and engages in the dirty deal of restoring capitalism by hoisting the banner of opposing "anarchy."

/Text/ "/It is necessary to/ set up, under the unified leadership of Party committees, production management command systems which are effective and capable of operating independently to take charge of the day-to-day production activities in managing and directing enterprises, to handle promptly problems arising from production, and to assure the normal progress of production. Party committees should not be asked to handle directly all big and small matters, so that they will not be interfered with in attending to major issues and grasping ideo-political work."

/Criticism/ Chairman Mao points out: "In industry, agriculture, commerce, education, the army, government and the Party -- in these seven sectors the Party must exercise leadership in everything." In factories and enterprises, it is only when we take class struggle as the key link and adhere to the Party's basic line under the centralized leadership of the Party that we can make the enterprises keep to the socialist orientation and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grass-roots level. The revolutionary committees established during the great cultural revolution represent a creation by the worker masses. But the "20 Points" makes no reference to the need to fully develop the role of revolutionary committees and instead, calls for setting up a "production management command system operating independently," and this is aimed at negating the great proletarian cultural revolution and socialist new things. They stress "independence" of Party leadership in "handling problems arising from production;" this in effect is to prohibit Party committees from handling problems that relate to the line, principles and policies in the sphere of production, to form their own system and a separate center, to put the Party committees aside, to separate Party from government, to practice the revisionist "one chief system," to usurp the leadership of enterprises and to turn socialist enterprises into capitalist ones.

/Text/ "The system of responsibility is the core of the rules and regulations of an enterprise. Without a strict system of responsibility, production can only be carried out in a chaotic manner. It is hence necessary to set up a system of responsibility as a vital step of readjusting enterprise management. The responsibility must be clearly defined for each job and each post; every cadre, every worker, every technician must have a clearly defined responsibility."

/Criticism/ What does a socialist enterprise mainly rely on in carrying out production and management successfully? To rely on the system of responsibility or on man's consciousness? In carrying out socialist large-scale production, we must of course have the necessary system of responsibility, but the more important thing is to conduct socialist education among cadres and

workers, to continuously raise the political consciousness of workers and staff and to establish newtype socialist relations. "Any system must benefit the masses." The workers are the masters of socialist enterprises. We are in favor of relying on the worker masses in setting up rules and regulations conducive to the development of the socialist economy. If an enterprise does not rely on the worker masses in management, even rational rules and regulations may be used to impose "control, checks and coercion" on workers. By elevating the system of responsibility to the position of the "core," the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted nothing other than to reject the leading position of the working class and attempt to lure workers into only doing "one job" well and sticking to "one post," engrossing themselves in production without bothering about politics and submitting to the revisionist line they push.

After comparing the changes in enterprise management before and after the great cultural revolution, we deeply feel that if we do not talk about the line and the communist style of work but only about the system of responsibility, then such system of responsibility would even have the effect of disrupting production. In some industries, for instance, it was clearly stipulated in the past that production workers and repairmen should not step out of the bounds of their duties. As a result, when machines broke down, the production workers who were able to put them back to work had to stop their work and wait for the repairmen to arrive and put things right for them. This practically throttled the initiative of workers within the framework of division of work and turned them into slaves of division of work. Since the start of the great cultural revolution, the worker masses have said: "Though we do different jobs, we are all masters." We not only practice rational division of work and a necessary system of responsibility at individual posts but also break down the past narrow confines of division of work which stifled the initiative of the workers. Campaigns in various forms and activities of "specializing in one thing and capable of doing many other things" have developed flourishingly. Many of us workers have gone beyond the system of responsibility at individual posts and the demands we imposed on ourselves. By hurling the false accusation at us that we now are "without a system of responsibility" and "carry out production in a chaotic manner," doesn't Teng want us to go back to the old road? We must tell him bluntly: You can't do that!

So-called "Two Kinds of Initiative"

/Text/ "As for dual leadership bearing on the overall national economic situation, the central departments concerned should not only take care of the principles, policies and unified planning for large enterprises of mainly local nature, but should also take care of the allocation of products produced by these enterprises and handle the problems of major material supplies which localities are unable to solve."

/Criticism/ In accordance with Chairman Mao's directive "having two kinds of initiative is much better than having only one kind of initiative" and "localities should be encouraged to do more things under central unified planning," we criticized the dictatorship by stereotype and conducted positive

reform of the industrial administrative system during the great cultural revolution. This is an important achievement of the great cultural revolution.

But the "20 Points," leaving no stone unturned in spreading slander, makes ten charges such as "wilful," "violation," "unauthorized," and "indiscriminate allocation and use" to negate the excellent situation that has appeared on the industrial front since an overwhelming majority of enterprises have been handed over to local management after the start of the great cultural revolution. Saying that enterprises handed over to local management "must not be left without control," it tries by every possible means to stifle the local initiative, to reverse the verdict passed on "the dictatorship by stereotype" promoted by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company, launch a counter-attack in revenge and seeks restoration and regression on the industrial front. Under the pretext of "concentration" and "centralization," they call for "control" and "resumption" in an attempt to "rigidly control" those enterprises that have been handed over to local management as well as national economic plans so as to hold the local initiative "in checks." They vainly try to "centralize" enterprises that have been handed over to local management and bring them onto the road of capitalist restoration and to "concentrate" the power of decentralization in the hands of the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing so as to turn socialist ownership by the whole people into ownership by capitalist roaders.

/Text/ "From each according to his ability and to each according to his work is a socialist principle. In the socialist period this principle must be resolutely enforced since it basically meets the demands of the developing productive forces. Practicing egalitarian distribution without regard to the nature of work, the physical capacity of people and the amount of contribution made would dampen the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses."

/Criticism/ From each according to his ability and to each according to his work is a socialist principle of distribution. Lenin said: "In the sense that products are distributed 'according to work,' 'bourgeois rights' still hold the dominating position." ("The State and Revolution") From each according to his ability is the premise of distribution according to work. Only when everyone does his best, promotes the communist spirit of labor and criticizes bourgeois rights is it possible to correctly handle and carry out distribution according to work. The worker comrades say rightly: "To make contribution to the best of one's ability, one must not bother solely with distribution according to work."

Not only must we see the necessity of practicing distribution according to work in socialist society, but we must also see the necessity of restricting bourgeois rights manifested in the course of distribution according to work. The "20 Points" mentions only the aspect of "basically meeting the demands of the developing productive forces," but not the other aspect of incompatibility, thus essentially denying the existence of bourgeois rights in the field of distribution in a vain attempt to protect and extend the soil engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements and undermine the socialist economic base.

To advocate that distribution should be carried out according to "the physical capacity of people and the amount of contribution made" is to openly preach the virtue of working for money, that whoever works better makes more money. This is material incentive, pure and simple. Enthusiasm "stimulated" in this way can never be socialist enthusiasm but bourgeois individualist "enthusiasm." We workers still remember vividly the harm done by the practice of material incentives before the great cultural revolution. In those days, work performance was assessed and bonuses were given every month and with "increasing rigidity," thereby seriously corroding the workers ranks. Didn't the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing cry aloud that he himself "had done hard work if he had won no merit, or even if he had done no hard work, he had done tiresome work"? Since he himself made the "greatest contribution," it was only logical that he should "receive" the most. In the final analysis, "to reward according to merit" was intended to protect the interests of the revisionist big officials.

/Text/ "Bourgeois rights must not be restricted in isolation from material and spiritual conditions at the present stage. Under no circumstances must we reject distribution according to work, refuse to recognize the necessary differences and instead practice egalitarianism."

/Criticism/ It is utterly nonsense to make the false accusation that bourgeois rights are criticized and restricted "in isolation from the material and spiritual conditions at the present stage." Talking about conditions, the most important one is the communist consciousness on the part of the broad masses of workers. In 1958, we workers voluntarily proposed the abolition of piece-work wages, thus effectively pounding at bourgeois rights in the sphere of distribution. Do you still remember this? During the great proletarian cultural revolution, criticism of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao resulted in the appearance of large groups of socialist new things and the continuous emergence of heart-stirring deeds reflecting the communist spirit. Have you forgotten that? It is our belief that only by persistently criticizing and restricting bourgeois rights is it possible to gradually create conditions for the elimination of bourgeois rights and, failing that, bourgeois rights will prepare the conditions for capitalist restoration. Bourgeois rights are the root of life for capitalist roaders, and no wonder that they resent and are hurt by our criticism of bourgeois rights.

Chairman Mao says: "Even now China still practices the eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs little from the old society." It should be seen that the main tendency we must prevent and combat in the field of distribution at present is not toward "egalitarianism" but toward expansion of differences between grades. Even in the case of so-called "egalitarianism," what we oppose is "absolute" egalitarianism, and we are in favor of general equality and common affluence. In opposing "practice of egalitarianism," the "20 Points" actually counters Chairman Mao's important directive on the question of theory and paves the way for the extension of bourgeois rights and the enforcement of the revisionist line of material incentives and putting banknotes in command.

/Text/ "It is necessary to intorduce a normal system of promotion. According to the attitude of the workers and staff toward labor, the rise in their technical capability and performance in labor and work.....each year the wages of a number of workers and staff should be increased."

/Criticism/ Here the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing smilingly made out a check: "Increase the wages each year." It sounds very nice indeed, but on a close examination, it isn't right. Only "a number" will see their wages increased. Which "a number"? Here there are three criteria, which are concerned only with labor and not with putting proletarian politics in command, and only with techniques and not with revolution. In other words, you must honestly toe his revisionist line and become his docile tool, and he will give you a reward. If you criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, he will give you hardship. Such a "system of promotion" is one of "carrot" and "stick" by means of which he imposes bourgeois dictatorship over the workers. Buying off workers and suppressing them was what capitalists had done in the past. If his "system of promotion" were followed, "a number" of workers who were so "promoted" would become worker aristocrats and technocrats forgetting the historical mission of the working class and betraying the working class, while the vast majority of workers who persevere in revolution not only would not be "promoted" but would be "degraded" and "reduced" into wage laborers to be exploited by a handful of capitalist roaders. Nothing can be more vicious than this method, but we workers will never fall into the trap.

So-called "Concern for the Livelihood of Workers and Staff"

/Text/ "It is basically wrong to adopt an indifferent attitude toward the difficulties in the livelihood of the masses."

/Criticism/ Our Party has always shown concern for the livelihood of the masses. It is an undeniable fact that since the great cultural revolution began and in the wake of continuous development of the national economy, the livelihood of the masses of people has further improved. But the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, hoisting the signboard of "pleading for the people," gives the expression that he alone understands the sufferings of the people most and is most concerned about their livelihood. His "concern" actually harbors a sinister motive. He alleges: "Without vegetables and without meat, how can we develop industry well?" This is a malicious vilification of the excellent situation of the national economy, a shameless slander against the working class, and a vicious provocation aimed at driving a wedge between the Party and the masses. The workers of Tach'ing opened up the Tach'ing Oilfield at a high speed and with satisfactory results by sheer hard work on a barren plain. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai transformed nature and reaped bumper harvests on barren hills short of water and under harsh circumstances where crop failed in nine years out of ten. Can it be that this was achieved through "stimulation" by "pork"? Such socialist enthusiasm is generated only if we arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacies are no better than a reprint of Lin Piao's

"inducements in the form of official appointments, high emoluments and favors," and are sugar-coated poison.

So-called "Red and Expert"

/Text/ "To create an atmosphere where everyone strives to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and at the same time delves into technical and vocational studies, it is particularly necessary to pay heed to making the two mutually coordinated and not antagonistic to each other. It is necessary to positively create conditions for the broad masses of workers and staff to become both Red and expert."

/Criticism/ Chairman Mao has always encouraged everyone to be Red and expert. Since the beginning of the great cultural revolution, mass movements to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works have flourished in factories and enterprises. Socialist new things -- such as workers theoretical contingents, July 21 workers universities, mass scientific research activities, and "three-in-one" technical innovations and new product experiments -- have sprung up endlessly like bamboo shoots after rain, and large groups of both Red and expert personnel have grown up rapidly.

But the "20 Points" charges us with making Red and expert "antagonistic to each other," while at the same time resorting to eclectic tactics, it puts "study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought" and "technical and vocational studies" on an equal footing with a view to emasculating the role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought in guiding technical and vocational work in order to achieve the criminal goal of transposing the relationship between Red and expert and publicizing the white and expert road. They negate the Party's policy of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals, accuse the Party of being unconcerned about intellectuals, and do everything they could to advocate that "white and expert is good for the Chinese People's Republic" and "should be cherished and praised." In the light of their absurd arguments spread everywhere to incite people to stir up the "vocational typhoon" and "economic typhoon," and "if the 8th-grade typhoon is not strong enough, blow the 12th-grade typhoon," it is not difficult to see that while hoisting the banner of "creating conditions for the broad masses of workers and staff to become both Red and expert," the "20 Points" actually encourages some people to take the write and expert road and train "talent" for capitalist restoration.

So-called "Methods of Work and Style of Work"

In its last two sections, the "20 Points" pretentiously deals at length with "promoting materialist dialectics" for the purpose of attaching the "materialist dialectic" label to these regulations.

What is false is false, and the mask should be taken off. What does the "20 Points" promote after all: dialectics or passing off eclecticism for dialectics? As the "general program" for industrial development, the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" puts the primary and secondary issues on an equal footing and confuses them altogether.

It exemplifies eclecticism of confounding the primary with secondary issues. Take another instance. On the question of relationship between revolution and production, they say, on the one hand, that "it is quite wrong" to fail to pay attention to continuing the revolution in the superstructure and the economic base. On the other hand, they say that "it is also quite wrong" to fail to pay attention to production and make no effort to carry on production successfully. On the question of Party leadership, they talk about "unified leadership by Party committees" on the one hand and, on the other hand, they talk at length about "setting up production management systems which are effective and capable of operating independently." And so on and so forth. In all this, they make no distinction between the principal and secondary contradictions and confuse the principal and secondary aspects of a contradiction. "Judging by the philosophical source of this phenomenon, this is to secretly replace dialectics with eclecticism and sophistry." (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky") In talking big about "dialectics," the "20 Points" is intended entirely to hoodwink people.

However, when we analyze and criticize the "20 Points" with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon, we will unmask the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing as a man who pretends to follow dialectics, catch his black hand attacking the proletariat, and grasp his fox tail in restoring capitalism. It is precisely they who "affirm everything or negate everything without making any differentiation." In the "20 Points," without making the slightest differentiation, they negate and condemn all the great achievements made and all the new socialist things that appeared on the industrial front since the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, they laud to the skies that revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The "20 Points" is filled with nothing but revisionist sinister stuff such as the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces which Liu Shao-ch'i trumpeted for 17 years and Lin Piao vainly attempted to inject into his report at the 9th Party Congress. If the proposals contained in the "20 Points" were implemented, that would lead to general restoration of capitalism on the entire industrial front.

*

The working class is the main force in repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We firmly support the CCP Central Committee's resolution on appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to be the First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic and the resolution dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all his posts both inside and outside the Party. We wrathfully condemn the counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at T'ienanmen Square in the capital. We must take concrete action to protect Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. "Oppose the Right deviation wind to reverse verdicts, carry on both revolution and production" -- this is the common resolve of the broad masses of workers. We must unite around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, thoroughly criticize the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary

revisionist line, and make greater contributions to defending and developing the grand achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution, speeding up t pace of socialist construction and further strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(This article was based on collective discussion conducted at a study class attended by a number of worker theoretical backbone elements.)

* * *

Resolutely Counter the Revisionist Line

by

Party branch, No. 2 Workshop of the Shanghai
Steam Turbine Works

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

The No. 2 Workshop in our plant is an old workshop producing diesel engines. The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, initiated and led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao, has fired our workers with revolutionary enthusiasm and heightened their awareness of the class and line struggles. They say they will fight Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" which seeks to abolish class struggle in the name of developing production, rabidly attacks the proletariat and vainly tries to restore capitalism. They will hold fast to class struggle, the key link, and furiously hit at the revisionist program. With everybody conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's important instructions, the workers of the entire workshop, young and old, join the battle. They write big-character posters and hold criticism forums to fiercely repudiate Teng's counter-revolutionary revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and criticize the reactionary theory of productive forces and other absurd arguments. In the wake of the triumphant development of the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt in the past few months, both work and production features of the entire workshop have undergone radical changes, with a rise of 40 percent in the output of diesel engines for the first quarter of this year compared with the corresponding period last year and mass participation in technical innovations achieving more striking results than at any time in the past. Practice in struggle once again illustrates that as long as we conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and counter the revisionist trash, both revolution and production will continuously advance in big strides.

Lenin said, "Vibrant and creative socialism has been brought about by the masses of the people themselves." Only by displaying as much as possible the spirit of being the masters of the house can the worker masses of socialist enterprises truly make a success of production. Prior to the great cultural revolution, our workshop followed the revisionist system of management embracing "supervision, restraint and repression." This resulted in elaborate division of work that distinguished one type of work from another, and consequently workers of a lower classification were barred from performing the jobs assigned to those of a higher category, while auxiliary workers were not allowed to handle machine tools. "Each sticks to his job and doesn't bother about others." This suppressed the workers' socialist enthusiasm. Since the great cultural revolution, however, the workers have broken down the narrow vision and dropped the system of rigid gradations based on technical qualifications, thus making it possible for more auxiliary workers to learn to operate machine tools. This has contributed to a greater measure of mutual support and mutual cooperation among the workers.

The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, however, took a dim view of the vast changes brought about by the great cultural revolution. Like a "weeping woman in mourning," in Lenin's words, "crying over bourgeois discipline" and "crying over the capitalist order," Teng Hsiao-p'ing vilified the great proletarian cultural revolution for putting things "in a mess" and clamored for "adjustment" and reintroduction of "supervision, restraint and repression." Commented the workers during the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts: This person has never stopped calling for "adjustment" for no other purpose than making us workers renounce the spirit of being the masters of the house and our status in the plant as the masters. To put it bluntly, rather than going to excess in discarding the revisionist stuff, the great proletarian cultural revolution will continue to do so without respite. Recently, we have fiercely criticized scores of revisionist regulations dished out by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and as a result the interrelations among the workers have become so much closer, while the revisionist system of gradation has been discontinued. Previously only skilled workers above the fourth grade were permitted to handle a certain technological process in machining the crankshaft of the diesel engine in the lathe group, and only one worker in that group could do the job. In February this year this worker was on sick leave and crankshafts were needed in the assembling of products. What was to be done? A young worker with only two years of experience in lathe work, with the assistance of veteran workers and technicians, managed to turn out a crankshaft which in quality was even better than those produced by sixth grade skilled workers, and with much less tolerance.

In a socialist enterprise, failing to rely on the worker masses means failing to make a success of production. The struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts has further raised our workshop supervisors' awareness of "wholeheartedly relying on the working class." In the course of repudiating Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacy that "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," these supervisors improved management work. Because the parts for diesel engines are many with a host of technological processes and a long cycle, management planning is necessarily complicated. In the past programming was handled by the planning personnel, who were familiar with the general procedures. But the workers knew only to produce and had no idea of the production schedules; therefore a slightest dislocation would often affect the whole program. In the first quarter of this year, production tasks rose by 40 percent over the corresponding period last year and this increased the responsibility of planning. The planning personnel handed over planning to the masses, and joined them in planning and making projections. The planning table was posted besides the machine tools, an arrangement which enabled each worker to be familiar with the interrelated production processes. This eliminated dislocations and disequilibrium manifested in the past. Consequently, there was good coordination in the operation of the workshop like a medley race. The planning personnel, now relieved of passivity, can devote more of their time to doing labor in the workshop, such as assisting the workers to move the accessories and parts and serving as auxiliary workers. Owing to relying on the masses, plans for the first quarter were successfully fulfilled. The planning staff said with feeling, "The masses are the real heroes. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has completely ignored the masses, but we take the rank and file to heart."

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind has also further promoted union between technicians and the worker masses. The more than 30 technicians in our workshop penetratingly criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing for doing his utmost to preach the "usefulness of white and expert" and his crime of driving a wedge between the Party and the intellectuals. At criticism sessions they asked veteran workers to join them in recalling the militant course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, with some exposing the harm done by the revisionist line in terms of their own personal experience. Most of the technicians of the workshop graduated from old universities and intermediate-level technical colleges. Prior to the great cultural revolution, though they were assigned to the workshops, they sat in the office all day long, divorced from reality, from the rank and file, from labor. Diesel engine designers, for instance, did not know how to operate the engines. Technologists knew nothing about how to run machine tools, not even the weight of a single bolt. Often they produced a mass of blueprints and work drawings but what they managed to turn out were just useless products. After the start of the great cultural revolution, technicians were sent down for labor. In the course of performing labor for a number of years at the grassroots level, all attained proficiency in one or two practical skills. Even more important, after they were re-educated by the working class, they underwent considerable changes in both thoughts and feelings. Many of them mingled with the workers every day with grease-stained hands and clothes, helping the latter find new and practical ways to make technical innovations. Prior to the great cultural revolution, few technicians were welcomed by the workers, but now the situation has changed in favor of the technicians. Looking back at these changes, the technicians said with emotion: We should take the road of integrating with the workers charted by Chairman Mao. We suffered much in taking the "white and expert" road, but we have now tasted sweetness in taking the red and expert road. Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged, "What's wrong with having a little white and expert? It should be cherished and commended." In fact he wanted us to go along with them in promoting restoration and regression. We must continuously and firmly take the Red and expert road along the bright path indicated by Chairman Mao. In the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the technicians of the whole plant, in four groups, joined the workers in the workshops in studying and performing labor and in introducing technical innovations in a big way. In fighting battles with the workers, they once again recognized the importance of integrating themselves with the worker masses. Because of the labor intensify of boring holes on the rod of the diesel engine in the workshop, previously it would take two hours to bore a single hole, the manual operation of the boring machine requiring more than 300 movements. But the workers' strong desire to improve this technological process was not heeded. When the technicians were sent down to hear the workers' projections about the production of special-purpose equipment, they pooled their resources and in less than a month succeeded in producing an improved version. This cut the boring time from two to one hour, thus greatly reducing the labor intensity of the workers.

By exposing the revisionist crimes of fawning on foreigners and worshipping foreign things, we aroused the revolutionary spirit of maintaining independence, keeping the initiatives in our own hands and developing new

technology through self-reliance. In March 1972, with the backing of the leadership department at a higher level, we worked out a project, called "723," to improve the frame of the diesel engine. The worker participation in scientific research, a new thing that emerged during the great proletarian cultural revolution, would certainly be banned in such a major project in the past when the revisionist line held sway. The workers began to take part in scientific research after the great cultural revolution and have scored initial results. In repudiating Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the workers and technicians involved in this project said: "The great cultural revolution serves as the spring of '723.' Teng Hsiao-p'ing preaches the slavish comprador philosophy and has no faith in the creative power of the worker masses. We must accelerate the pace of scientific research." When recently the students of "July 21" University visited our workshop, we worked with them in boldly transforming some imported machines that no longer met production needs. Prior to the cultural revolution, these imported tools were so highly treasured by the capitalist roaders that they were put under the control of the bureau or the ministry and workers were forbidden to remove even a single screw. During the great cultural revolution the workers had already improved many imported machines that were found impractical in meeting production development requirements. Since the end of last year, we have successively improved the boring machines and drilling machines of two countries. Among these, one boring machine often had to be stopped because its motor was frequently burned. This time we re-designed all the circuit of the machine and replaced its electrical devices with home-made ones, thereby raising the efficiency of the machine.

The struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind has spurred the continuous advance of both revolution and production in our workshop, a result of our persistent efforts to take class struggle as the key link, deepen criticism of the revisionist line on running enterprises, grasp revolution and promote production. Revolution means liberation of the productive forces. The current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind is a continuation and deepening of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and a continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Like the great proletarian cultural revolution, it will greatly promote the development of socialist production. If we adopt the counter-revolutionary revisionist approach, we shall not be able to push production, or, after a temporary rise in production, the socialist enterprise will deviate, become revisionist and eventually undermine productivity. The workers said, "We of the working class are the main force in the counter-attack on the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Since Teng Hsiao-p'ing practices revisionism, we must counter-act him." The nature of the Teng Hsiao-p'ing question has now become that of an antagonistic contradiction and this calls for a further deepening of criticism of Teng and the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind. We should always keep to the orientation indicated by Chairman Mao, conscientiously sum up the experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution, continue to deepen criticism of the revisionist line and make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation in enterprises. We must develop the excellent situation in both revolution and production in the current struggle to beat back the Right deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

* * *

Actively Plunge Into the Struggle To Repulse the Right Deviationist Wind To Reverse Verdicts

by

General Party Branch Committee,
No. 2 Metallurgical Machine Repair Plant

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

The workers and staff of the whole plant warmly support the Party Central Committee's resolutions appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng First Party Vice Chairman and Premier of the State Council and dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all his posts both inside and outside the Party. In the past few months, the cadres, Party members and workers in our plant have continuously enhanced their understanding of the nature and significance of the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. Their increased recognition of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's ferocious features has heightened their awareness of the need to hurl themselves into the battle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind.

To raise the understanding of the vast numbers of cadres and workers in regard to the nature and meaning of this struggle, it is necessary to unmask the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing. To do so, we first of all organized the contingent of theorists to contrast the absurdities attributed to Teng since he resumed work with the series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao, to see how he defiantly opposed Chairman Mao. For example:

Chairman Mao has consistently emphasized taking class struggle as the key link. He has called upon the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country "never to forget classes and class struggle." Teng Hsiao-p'ing, however, dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," aimed at doing away with class struggle, the key link.

On the question of theory, Chairman Mao has explicitly pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be made clear." Teng, however, said: "Everything is for modernization." "The whole Party should discuss more" "this overall situation."

Chairman Mao has said bourgeois rights "can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Teng countered by saying that restricting bourgeois rights "is divorced from reality," adding: "How can they be restricted" without material foundations? He even arbitrari y dismissed the whole idea of "bourgeois rights."

Chairman Mao issued the important instruction on discussing and criticizing Water Margin in order to make capitulationists known to all people. Harboring sinister intentions, Teng spread the rumor that "some people try to make an issue out of this." He also remarked, "Don't mistake the wind for the rain."

Instances like these are too numerous to mention. Once they are compared, it will not be difficult to see the reactionary nature of the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing and this has aroused the proletarian wrath of the worker masses. Some people previously took the view that Teng was only "too outspoken in words, but does bad things with a good heart." They realize now that his "every word is motivated by sinister intentions and every sentence is aimed at Chairman Mao."

To raise the awareness of the vast numbers of cadres and the rank and file about the need to actively plunge into the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind, we must expose the pernicious influence of that counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. We therefore aroused the broad masses to compare the two lines so as to find out how Teng has countered Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. For example:

Guided by Chairman Mao's line for "making revolution in education," profound changes have occurred on the educational front since the great cultural revolution. Declaring that "there is a crisis in education," Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to "revert" education to the old path of the 17 years of the revisionist line on education. Chairman Mao said, "Take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant and train technical personnel from among the workers." Teng, however, talked rubbish and said: The July 21 University "is not the only form." When Chairman Mao spoke highly of the "barefoot doctor," he reviled the "barefoot doctor" as "wearing straw sandals" and having "a low level" and "little knowledge." Chairman Mao gave vigorous support to the revolution in literature and art, but Teng vilified the revolutionary model stage productions as the "blossoming of one lonely flower." Chairman Mao called for paying attention to combining the old, the middle-aged and the young, but he reviled the "three-in-one combination" as "three-way mixture." When Chairman Mao called on the workers to study theory, he viciously ordered "outright cancellation." When Chairman Mao favored the working-class occupation of the various spheres of the superstructure and proposed that "the working class must exercise leadership in everything," he sang the opposite tune and asserted that "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," reviling working class leaderhsip as "occupying the latrine without discharging excreta." This shows that once things are compared, the issue of right and wrong is clear. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's outbursts vilifying the new things that emerged from the great cultural revolution and nipping them in the bud illustrate that he has pursued a totally counter-revolutionary revisionist line. A "Communist" in name, in reality he represents bourgeois interests and is one of the bourgeoisie within the Party. This has made us realize that our struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line he has pushed in the struggle between practicing Marxism or revisionism, a struggle to uphold or alter the Party's basic line. If we don't resolutely beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, won't we allow revisionism to spread unchecked and permit capitalism to be restored? Whether or not we are able to deepen the current struggle has a bearing on the future and destiny of our Party and our country. This is a life-and-death, uncompromising great struggle. Having recognized the nature of this battle, we will have stronger faith in repulsing the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts and in our determination to carry this battle to the end!

Continuously deepening the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind not only calls for a heightened understanding of the nature and meaning of this struggle but also requires the vast numbers of workers and cadres to increase their understanding of the laws of class struggle in socialist society. For this reason, we take hold of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as a teacher by negative example and compare the absurd arguments he put up before the great cultural revolution and during the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, linking his "refusal to repent" with the fact that capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road. As early as 1956, he advocated production as "the task for the present and the future, now that class contradictions have been basically resolved." Today, after dishing up "taking the three directives as the key link," he questioned the need to "talk about class struggle every day." In 1961, he declared that "as long as production can be pushed up, going it alone will also do. What does it matter if a cat is white or black as long as it catches mice." Today, he advocated that "as long as production goes up, there is no fear about putting vocational work in command" -- in favor of taking the white and expert road. In 1961 he proposed clearing the confusion that prevailed in enterprise management, declaring that "in dealing with disorder we must rather be overstrict as otherwise nothing can be done to change the situation." Today this trash has again been taken up by him in such remarks as: "A longstanding practice is difficult to correct" and "we must be 'strict'" in enforcing overall "adjustment." In 1958, he peddled the "goulash" type of sham communism, such as "60 catties of meat for each person every year, half a catty of apples plus two taels of kaoliang wine each day." Now he dished up such revisionist trash as the "jeweled palace in Elfland's hills." The worker comrades said angrily, "The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing is incorrigible, judging by his harping the same tune before and after the 'wind'." He pledged "never to reverse verdicts," but after he resumed work he lost no time to reverse verdicts and return to the old order. This provided us with an extremely profound lesson. The workers have increasingly realized the protracted nature of the class and line struggles. They have also realized that the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road, a social phenomenon that exists for a long period of time in the entire historical period of socialism and an inexorable law of class struggle. Therefore, we must never forget class and line struggles at any time and must repeatedly and over a long period of time criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pursued by Teng Hsiao-p'ing!

The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing's obsession with reversing verdicts and returning to the old order has its class and ideological roots. Like all restorationists, those who engage in reversing verdicts invariably look from the ideological amory of the reactionary classes in history for a theoretical basis of restoration and regression and use it as their spiritual prop. In the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, we have realized that only by making further efforts to penetratingly expose the characteristics in world outlook shared by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and all restorationists in history can we completely discredit the revisionist line pushed by him. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has furnished us with rich experience in this regard. Teng is a Confucius worshipper like the other chieftains of opportunist lines

within the Party, with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius providing them with an important source of ideas. We therefore mobilize the workers to compare his restorationist words and deeds with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Through comparison and contrast, everyone has perceived how Teng Hsiao-p'ing has closely emulated Confucius. It is clear that during periods of social upheavals all reactionary and declining classes invariably pushed the reactionary line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," in opposition to reform and progress. This is dictated by their class nature and reactionary world outlook.

In the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, we have also deeply perceived that deepening this battle calls for closely linking study with criticism. In the past few months we have conducted a dozen different types of study sessions for the study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, the theory of proletarian dictatorship, as well as a series of important instructions given by Chairman Mao on the great proletarian cultural revolution and beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Mass study promotes mass criticism, continuously pushing the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind forward.

Recently, a handful of class enemies became so desperate that they did not hesitate to engineer a counter-revolutionary political incident at T'ienanmen Square in the capital. This greatly aroused the proletarian wrath of the workers and staff of our plant and enabled everybody to further recognize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary features. The workers said, "We must take class struggle as the key link, criticize the Right deviationist wind and practice socialism in a big way." Mass criticism meetings and denunciation rallies have been held in rapid succession and this has brought about a thriving situation in production. In the first quarter of this year our plant not only fulfilled the production task set by the state, but increased the total output value by 10.4 percent over that of the corresponding period last year. "Countering the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and carrying a heavy load of a thousand catties to capture high output" -- this has become the pledge of workers. We are determined to repulse the Right deviationist wind by concrete action and do a better job of work in all fields!

* * *

Wholeheartedly Support Revolutionary New Things

- Studying Marx's attitude toward the Paris Commune

by

Workers Theoretical Group of Steel Refining Plant
of Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Company, the
Capital Iron and Steel Complex

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1976)

Like the spring thunder the revolution of the Paris Commune which erupted on March 18, 1871 shook the world. Displaying the dauntless revolutionary spirit, the heroic children of the Parisian proletarians bravely staged an armed uprising, overthrew the reactionary bourgeois rule and established the first proletarian regime in the history of mankind. Marx was lavish in his praise of this unprecedented, great revolutionary undertaking, crediting it as "a new starting point fraught with worldwide historical significance"* for proletarian revolution, "the light of dawn of a great social revolution that will permanently emancipate man from class society,"** "a shining precursor of a new society that will forever be respected and admired by man."+

When our great leader Chairman Mao in 1959 strongly condemned the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique for vilifying and opposing the revolutionary mass movements launched under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, he pointed out to them sharply: "Please see for yourselves how Marx and Lenin commented on the Paris Commune and how Lenin assessed the Russian revolution!" He added, "Have you seen how Lenin criticized the renegade Plekhanov and those 'capitalist lords and their lackeys,' and 'the moribund bourgeoisie and the swines and jackals of the petty bourgeois democratic groups that depend on it'? If you haven't, please take a look?"++ Here, at the same time, Chairman Mao educated the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, reminding them to study the correct attitude taken by Marx and Lenin toward the Paris Commune, to approach socialist new things with the viewpoint of classes and class struggle, to follow the objective laws governing the historical development of society and push the cause of proletarian

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* "Marx to L. Kugelmann" (April 17, 1871), Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. IV, p. 394.

** "Resolution of Rally Commemorating the First Anniversary of the Paris Commune," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XVIII, p. 61.

\+ "The Civil War in France," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. II, p. 399.

++ Chairman Mao's Comment on "How Marxists Should Correctly Deal with Revolutionary Movements" (August 15, 1959), quoted from Jen-min Jih-pao, March 18, 1971.

revolution forward without interruption. Today, in commemorating the 105th anniversary of the Paris Commune together with the proletariat of the whole world, we iron and steel workers in the Capital find immense inspiration in reviewing Chairman Mao's teachings, looking back at the fighting course of the Parisian proletariat in the bygone years, and studying Marx's warm response to the revolution of the Paris Commune.

The Paris Commune revolution broke out in the wake of the aggravation of the national contradictions between France and Prussia and the intensification of the class contradictions within France. The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War hastened the advent of the revolution. The revolution that erupted in Paris on September 4, 1870 led to the establishment of the French Third Republic, but political power was still in the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie. The bourgeois "Government of National Defense" was involved in a series of traitorous activities ceding territories and paying indemnities; this further sharpened the class contradictions in the country. With the Prussian army closing in on and besieging Paris, the Parisians took up arms and the National Guard rapidly expanded to 300,000 strong, with the workers making up the overwhelming majority. The antagonism between the armed proletariat and the reactionary bourgeois government became more and more intense. What should the Parisian proletariat do at this crucial juncture? In his "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" published on September 9, 1870, Marx said: "The French working class moves, therefore, under extremely difficult circumstances. Any attempt at upsetting the new government in the present crisis, when the enemy is almost knocking at the doors of Paris, would be a desperate folly." They should "calmly and resolutely use the opportunity accorded by Republican liberty to strengthen their own class organization. This will gift them with fresh Herculean powers for the regeneration of France and our common cause -- the emancipation of labor."* Consequently, just as Marx had foreseen, the uprisings staged by the Parisians on two separate occasions, one on October 31, 1870 and the other on January 22, 1871, against the traitorous government were suppressed. However, the proletarians of Paris did not lay down their arms. On March 18, 1871, in face of attacks launched by the reactionary army of the Thiers Government, the world-shaking Paris Commune revolution finally erupted.

The Paris Commune revolution was the first great attempt in the history of mankind made by the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although Marx pointed out then that conditions were not yet ripe for the French workmen to stage an uprising, when the heroic children of the Paris Commune determinedly rose in arms, Marx in the posture of a participant immediately gave ardent support and assistance to this revolution. Angrily denouncing the enemy's vilification of the Paris Commune and pitilessly castigating the renegades from the proletarian revolution, he was unswervingly in defending the revolutionary

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* "The Civil War in France," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. II, p. 350.

principles of the Paris Commune and from first to last regarded the Paris Commune revolution as an immortal historical achievement of the French proletariat. Marx's attitude toward the Paris Commune set a shining example for us in correctly dealing with revolutionary new things.

How did Marx look at the Paris Commune?

When the Paris uprising erupted, Marx was in exile in London. The choppy waters of the English Channel had discouraged mighty troops from crossing the body of water, yet it failed to stop the great teacher of the proletariat from expressing his boundless solicitude and support for the Paris uprising. After closely watching the development of the situation in Paris and carefully analyzing the measures taken by the Commune, Marx held that "the Commune has miraculously changed the features of Paris! The Paris of the Second Empire in its utter depravity has vanished without any trace."* Although some of the Commune's revolutionary measures were not fully implemented as they should, Marx still "saw the historical experience of profound significance, the definite progress of the proletarian revolution throughout the world, and practical steps that were even more important than hundreds of programs and deliberations."** Marx kept contributing articles to newspapers and constantly spoke at various meetings, elucidating at length the great historical significance and immense vitality of the Paris Commune, warmly praising the revolutionary pioneering spirit and brave struggles of the Parisian workers and unrelentingly exposing the enemy's deceitful propaganda. At the same time, Marx sent out hundreds of letters through the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to its branches in various countries, appealing to the proletariat of the world to take action and give active support to the Commune's great revolutionary undertaking. On the third day following the Paris uprising, that is, March 21, 1871, Engels delivered a report to the General Council about the victorious Paris uprising. In line with Marx's proposals, the General Council drafted a resolution urging the workers of various countries to give moral support and assistance to the Paris Commune revolution. Encouraged and influenced by Marx, the proletariat of many countries and Association members displayed the lofty spirit of internationalism. Workers' rallies were held in many German cities and in Geneva, Switzerland in support of the Paris workmen's struggles. A big rally was held in London, with tens of thousands of the masses participating. The workers of Italy, the United States, Spain, Belgium and other countries also took actions to support their class brothers in Paris. The Paris Commune "was hailed and supported by the entire international proletariat."***

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* Ibid., p. 384.

** "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 201.

*** "Report of the General Council to the Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association Held in The Hague," Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the Paris Commune, p. 256.

Marx unswervingly stood at the forefront of the Paris Commune revolutionary movement and with foresight provided it with as much concrete guidance and assistance as he could. He tried to keep in touch through correspondence with such Commune leaders as Frankel, Varlin, Serrailler and Vaillant. Moreover, through a contact man traveling regularly between London and Paris, he was able to maintain close liaison with the Commune, understand the development of the struggle situation in Paris, and contribute his valuable ideas and suggestions to the Commune promptly. When Frankel was elected committeeman of the Commune, he immediately wrote to Marx and proceeded to London to meet him. When formulating the Commune's social and economic measures, Frankel and Serrailler asked Marx for guidance. In mapping struggle stratagems, military operations and socio-economic measures, Marx never failed to give the Commune valuable directions. On the eve of Serrailler's departure from London for Paris, Marx reminded the Commune leadership to march forthwith on the Versailles for the purpose of uprooting the reactionary Thiers government, expanding the revolution throughout the country and actively stepping up work in foreign countries so as to relieve pressures on Paris in the course of its lone struggle. In a special warning to the Commune leadership, Marx cautioned them against believing in Bismarck's so-called "neutrality" promise and urged them to heighten their vigilance and strengthen preparedness. When he learned that Thiers was in secret collusion with Bismarck and planned to counter-attack Paris, Marx at once relayed this vital information to the Commune leadership and reminded them of the need to reinforce the defense line in the northern part of the Montmartre upland facing the Prussian troops so as to prevent Paris from being hit in the back and "falling into the net."* People reading this part of history cannot but feel pity: Had the Commune leadership listened to Marx's guidance and warning, how nice it would be!

However, due to the limitations of historical conditions at that time, Marxism did not yet dominate the workers' movement. A proletarian revolutionary political party guided by Marxist theory did not yet exist. There was no correct proletarian revolutionary line. Moreover, because the Commune leadership failed to seriously heed the important opinions given by Marx, a series of mistakes were made in revolutionary tactics. This, coupled with the enemy's numerical superiority, finally resulted in the collapse of the Commune after 72 days of existence.

When the battle of Paris was still raging, Marx, who saw the Commune's mistakes and foresaw its doom, still firmly pointed out: "Even if the Commune is toppled, the struggle will only be postponed. The principles of the Commune shall live on and cannot be extinguished. Before the emancipation of the working class, these principles will be manifested again and again."** These words

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* "Marx to E.S. Bisley" (爱斯比斯利 June 12, 1871). Ibid,p. 223.

** "Record of Speeches by K. Marx on the Paris Commune," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XVII, p. 677.

fully demonstrated the great teacher's confidence in the inevitable victory of the road to the complete emancipation of the proletariat opened by the Paris Commune, and revealed his scientific foresight that the revolutionary undertaking of the proletariat would certainly be crowned with victory.

Marx read his brilliant work "The Civil War in France" to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on May 30, 1871, the day following the collapse of the Paris Commune. In this revolutionary declaration, he expressed profound respect for the revolutionary pioneering spirit embodied in the Paris Commune, paid glowing tribute to the Parisian workmen's heroic exploits and expounded the class essence of this civil war. He denounced the class enemies for spreading rumors and sophistries to vilify the Commune. His incisive summation of the positive and negative aspects of the experience gained by the Paris Commune further developed and enriched the basic principles of Marxist theory concerning proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The heroic children of the Paris Commune fought valiantly and wrote in blood a stirring chapter in the history of proletarian revolution throughout the world. Marx's monumental work "The Civil War in France," which chronicles the heroic and revolutionary deeds of the brave Parisians, develops their revolutionary principles and experience to the theoretical plane to make them shine forever.

White terror engulfed the whole of Europe following the debacle of the Paris Commune. Everywhere the bourgeoisie brutally slaughtered the revolutionaries and viciously slandered the International led by Marx. An order for Marx's arrest was issued. Ignoring his personal safety and the persecution of his family by the French police, Marx consistently and resolutely fought in defense of the revolutionary interests of the proletariat. Under extremely harsh circumstances, he did his best to rescue the surviving members of the commune. He personally organized the raising of funds to assist those Commune fighters who escaped to London and encouraged them to carry on the fight for the cause of proletarian revolution.

Commenting on Marx's attitude toward the Paris Commune, Lenin wrote: "Marx in September 1870 described the uprising as a foolhardy action. But after the multitude had risen, Marx expressed his willingness to advance with them and to study with them in the course of struggle. He did not admonish them nor acted impertinently toward them.... He valued the most the working class' dedication to the making of world history without thought of their own danger.... At the same time, Marx was able to comprehend that very often in history the desperate struggle waged by the masses was for a cause which had no hope of winning, yet it was nevertheless necessary to further educate these masses and prepare them for the next struggle."* Marx's brilliant deeds

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* "Introduction to the Russian Translation of Letters from K. Marx to L. Kugelmann," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, pp. 690-691.

in giving ardent support to the Paris Commune revolution, coupled with Lenin's incisive comments, serve to project before us the great teacher's towering image in his correct dealing with the revolutionary new things.

Like all revolutionary new things, the cause of the Paris Commune invariably had to go through serious struggle against old things and decadent reactionary forces in order to survive and grow. In class society this struggle inevitably manifests itself as a struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. As long as class struggle goes on, such a struggle will never cease. From beginning to end, Marx fought unswervingly in defense of the revolutionary cause of the Paris Commune.

Over the past century and more, on the question of how to assess the Paris Commune the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between Marxism, and opportunism and revisionism has never ceased. Since its inception the Paris Commune was opposed by opportunists of every description. The Bakuninians in those years viciously accused the Commune of having "brought huge losses to the revolutionary cause." Talking rubbish, they vilified certain Commune measures that contributed to a stronger dictatorship of the proletariat as "crimes" and "stupid acts." The Proudhonists despicably attacked the Commune's Social Security Committee as "dictatorial" and even attempted to weaken and disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat from within the Commune. Today, the Brezhnev renegade clique recklessly tries to distort the historical experience of the Paris Commune in a vain attempt to replace violent revolution with "peaceful transition." Openly trying to alter the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune, they preach "partial preservation" of the old state apparatus. This group of shameless renegades is vigorously opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune. Let us look at Marx's attitude toward renegades from the revolution. When the fierce flames of the Paris Commune revolution were raging, on April 25, 1871 Marx addressed the General Council of the International on the Paris Commune, and the meeting adopted a resolution, drafted by Engels and revised by Marx, expelling Tolain, renegade from the proletarian cause. In this way, Marx and Engels set for us an example in ruthlessly exposing and cleaning out renegades. History is ruthless. However arrogant and blustering the renegade clique is for a time, they will sooner or later be swept into the garbage bin of history by the revolutionary people holding the iron bloom of Marxism-Leninism.

One hundred and five years have passed in a wink, but worldwide upheavals have changed the world. The proletarian revolutionary cause for which the heroic children of the Paris Commune fought and sacrificed themselves is now shaking the world with the force of a hurricane. The revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune are becoming more and more deeply rooted in people's hearts, while the dictatorship of the proletariat is increasingly displaying the power of a thunderbolt. However, the struggle is far from coming to a close. In socialist China where the proletariat has firmly assumed power, to continuously consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat remains the fundamental task on all fronts in our country. How to correctly view the endlessly emerging revolutionary

new things and persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat remains a problem to be seriously resolved. The absurdities prevalent in educational, scientific and technological circles and the revisionist viewpoints in other facets of society, identified as emanating from the same source, show that there is a revisionist line in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. And one of the main aspects and principal characteristics of the current Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is the concerted attempt at reviling and negating socialist new things endlessly emerging from the great cultural revolution. Whether to affirm or negate the great proletarian cultural revolution and whether to give active support to or cast doubts on and sneer at the socialist new things is a profound reflection of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. This is a struggle over whether to continue the revolution or practice regression and restoration, a struggle whether to practice Marxism or revisionism. Lenin pointed out: "Laughing at the tender buds of new things, assuming the flippant and skeptical attitude of intellectuals, etc. -- all of this in fact amounts to a means of class struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, to protect capitalism and oppose socialism."* The advocators of the Right deviationist wind have sunk into the quagmire of revisionism and slipped to the side of the bourgeoisie.

"The best way to celebrate the commemorative day of the great revolution is to focus attention on the unresolved revolutionary tasks."** In commemorating the 105th anniversary of the Paris Commune, we are faced with many glorious and immensely difficult tasks. Vowing to defend to the death Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must continue to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and struggle hard to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and realize the great ideals of communism. This is the fundamental task of the working class. To fight unceasingly for the growth of new things that contribute to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a glorious mission entrusted by history to the working class. The Chinese working class armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought regards every socialist new thing as a fruit of battle for the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie and socialism over capitalism. We must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, assiduously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, continue the revolution and combat and prevent revisionism. Where there is the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we will beat it back right there.

Studying Marx's attitude toward the Paris Commune has deeply educated us. Looking ahead to the future, we are full of confidence and become still firmer in our fighting will. "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." We are convinced that communism will surely triumph and the revolutionary red banners of the Paris Commune will flutter throughout the world!

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* "A Great Beginning," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, pp. 14-15.

** "On the Functions of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 574.

Bravely Climb the Road of Continuous Revolution

- Study Chairman Mao's poem "Chingkangshan Revisited-- To the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou"

by

Hung Ch'eng (洪 城)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1976)

Just as the Chinese people were striding into 1976, the great leader Chairman Mao's two poems "Chingkangshan Revisited --To the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue--To the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" were published. This was a happy occasion of great political significance and real meaning for the whole Party, the whole army and people throughout the country. Chairman Mao's splendid poems eulogize the revolutionary struggle of the people, strongly denounce the modern revisionists, give lyric expression to the resolute faith and militant feelings of the proletariat in their fight to realize the lofty ideal of communism, and profoundly reveal the historical law that Marxism is sure to win and revisionism is bound to lose. Chairman Mao's poems are a powerful east wind, the clarion call for continuing the revolution; they inspire and kindle militancy and encourage the revolutionary people to go forward bravely in the struggle to continue the revolution and to combat and guard against revisionism.

"Chingkangshan Revisited--To the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou" made use of the most polished language to give maximum emotional effect, portrayed the world-shaking changes on Chingkangshan and fully affirmed the splendid victories for our country's revolution that resulted from taking the Chingkangshan road. "Orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere and the road mounts skyward." This vividly portrayed the fact that "past scenes are transformed" in the Chingkangshan region and also graphically and appropriately praised the thriving and excellent situation in our socialist motherland; it gave expresssion to the boundlessly bright prospects for the Chinese revolution. "Revolution is the locomotive of history." Chairman Mao victoriously led China's new democratic revolution and socialist revolution forward into a brand new period of our nation's history. Studying Chairman Mao's militant poems can't but help us recall the shining militant course when for the first time Chairman Mao climbed Chingkangshan to lead the Chinese people to persist in revolutionary struggle, providing great education and encouragement for us.

In 1927, because of the Right opportunist line pushed by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the First Revolutionary Civil War met with defeat. The "April 12" counter-revolutionary coup engineered by public enemy Chiang Kai-shek resulted in the frenzied massacre of Communists and the revolutionary masses and in the establishment of a new fascist warlord regime. At this critical juncture of the revolution, Ch'en Tu-hsiu's gang of

capitulationists wantonly asked the proletariat to lay down their arms and follow the comprador bourgeoisie in a vain attempt to do away with the Chinese revolution. However, "the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have not been intimidated, subjugated and exterminated. They pick themselves up off the ground, wipe away the bloodstains, bury their fallen comrades and go on fighting." The Party's "August 7" conference liquidated the Right-opportunist line of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and confirmed the road of land reform and armed struggle. In September 1927, the famous Autumn Harvest Uprising took place under Chairman Mao's wise leadership. Subsequently, Chairman Mao led the forces of the Autumn Harvest Uprising to Chingkangshan in the Hunan-Kiangsi border area, established the first Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and opened up the first rural revolutionary base area. During the Chingkangshan period, Chairman Mao overcame the "Left" putschism and criticized Lin Piao's Rightist thought of pessimism and despair concerning the outcome of the revolution; he wrote such splendid works as "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China," "The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains" and "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire." These opened the road to surrounding cities with the countryside and armed seizure of power, enabling the Chinese revolution to discover the way forward and set out on its victorious voyage.

In this period of extremely arduous struggle in Chingkangshan, Red Army supplies were cut because of the heavy blockade of the Kuomintang reactionaries; grain, salt and medicine were in extremely short supply. Life almost became impossible. Such harsh conditions were made even more difficult by frequent fighting. The enemy in Hunan and Kiangsi often sent eight, nine or even as many as 18 regiments to attack us. However, under Chairman Mao's personal leadership and command, officers and men and army and people shared weal and woe together and fought shoulder to shoulder. "Already our defense is iron-clad," "our wills unite like a fortress." We overcame extreme material difficulties and victoriously defeated the enemy's counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns one after another. How many splendid scenes of battle, how praiseworthy the glorious cause! "The foe encircles us thousands strong, steadfastly we stand our ground." "From Huangyangchieh roars the thunder of guns, word comes the enemy has fled into the night." This paean to the defense of Huangyangchieh rings in our ears to this day. The red base area of Chingkangshan was born in struggle and waxed strong in struggle. During the counter-revolutionary white "encirclement and suppression" the red flag of Chingkangshan stayed fresh and beautiful; surviving a hundred efforts to pull it down, it flew high above the Lohsiao Mountain Range. The course of struggle at Chingkangshan left us a precious historical experience and the beacon fire of struggle at Chingkangshan forged a glorious revolutionary tradition for us. Deservedly Chingkangshan is the cradle of the Chinese revolution.

"Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying. Thirty-eight years are fled with a mere snap of the fingers." In the long stream of history, 38 years are but a brief blink of the eye. But in China's history these 38 years have been years of turbulent wind and

thunder, filled with red flags unfurled, years of battling against wind and waves and ceaseless revolution. In these 38 years, under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, and following the road of Chingkangshan, we carried out the world-shaking 25,000-li Long March, persisted in the 8-year War of Resistance Against Japan, wiped out 8 million Chiang Kai-shek troops, won the Third Revolutionary Civil War, ultimately overthrew the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and welcomed the birth of the Chinese People's Republic. At this crucial turning point in history, Chairman Mao repeatedly admonished the whole Party: "To win nationwide victory is only to complete the first step of a 10,000-li journey." Following the teaching of Chairman Mao, people all over the country lost no time in bringing the new democratic revolution onto the orbit of socialist revolution, completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, carried out struggle on the political and ideological front, and brought about vigorous development of our nation's socialist revolution and construction.

These few decades of revolutionary history have clearly shown that the Chingkangshan road is the road for the proletariat to raise its banner of rebellion and carry out armed revolution, the road to win victory in continuous revolution through arduous struggle. It crystallized Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line that combines the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. If we stick to this road a single spark of revolution can start a prairie fire; if we stick to this road, we can overthrow the old world and build a new one.

In 1965, Chairman Mao climbed Chingkangshan once again. At that time an acute struggle was unfolding in the Chinese revolution and in the international communist movement between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxism and revisionism. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, betraying Marxism-Leninism, were energetically pushing the revisionist line of "three peaces and two wholes" ("peaceful co-existence," "peaceful transition," "peaceful competition," "state of the whole people," and "Party of the whole people"). Everywhere they hawked their "goulash" sham communism and went all out to oppose revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries. Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang echoed the international revisionist trend of thought from afar, raised a great clamor for the theory of the dying out of class struggle, nonsensically saying that "class struggle within the country has been basically completed" and "the question of who will win out, socialism or capitalism, in our country has now been settled." They openly peddled such revisionist trash as san-tzu i-pao and frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. At home and abroad the revisionists' spearhead was concentrated at one point; to oppose the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to oppose proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, that is, to basically negate the road of the Paris Commune, the October Revolution and Chingkangshan. In this unusually critical class struggle situation at home and abroad at that time, our great leader Chairman Mao, braving the dangerous winds and vicious waves, "again came from afar to Chingkangshan, our old haunt" and wrote the great and

momentous poem "Chingkangshan Revisited--To the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou." This was a reaffirmation of the Chingkangshan road and a forceful counter-blow to revisionist elements like Khrushchev and Liu Shao-ch'i. Chairman Mao's poem is a clarion call for struggle against revisionism and a beacon light for continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. It tells us that the basic principle of Marxism with respect to proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship is not outmoded and that the red flag of Chingkangshan will fly forever. If we are to raise high the revolutionary red flag of Chingkangshan under socialist conditions, then we must foster the revolutionary spirit of Chingkangshan and keep continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

"We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas; we'll return amid triumphant song and laughter." This magnificently forceful line fully embodies the great and dauntlessly heroic spirit of the proletariat and expresses the firm determination of hundreds of millions of people pledging to carry the revolution through to the end. "I have long aspired to reach for the clouds" also gives vivid metaphorical and lyrical expression to the Marxist's resolve to continue revolution under proletarian dictatorship, to sweep away all vermin, and to the high aspiration to win an overall victory for communism. Early in 1956, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad, and in his splendid work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he correctly put forth the theory of continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship. He pointed out, "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership," yet "the class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." "The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." This scientific assertion by Chairman Mao clearly pointed out the path for continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship, and laid the theoretical foundation for the Party's basic line. In 1962, Chairman Mao set forth our Party's basic line for the whole of the historical period of socialism and cautioned the whole Party and all of our people to "never forget class struggle." If classes and class struggle are forgotten, if proletarian dictatorship is forgotten, then before long, perhaps a few years or a dozen years or a few decades at most, a counter-revolutionary restoration would inevitably occur nationwide. Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, we have carried out struggle in factories, rural areas and cultural circles, carried out the socialist education movement and rebuffed the many attacks of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Practice in struggle showed that the Liu Shao-ch'i renegade clique hidden within the Party was the most dangerous enemy subverting proletarian dictatorship. So that the revolutionary cause founded on Chingkangshan would not come to nought and in order to insure the continuous advance of the revolutionary cause of socialism, a great new revolution became a historical necessity.

In 1966, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution. This revolution was "a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, a continuation of the protracted struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the broad masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of class struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." In this sense, we can say that the great proletarian cultural revolution is the continuation and development of the struggle in the Chingkangshan and a great practice in continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. Had there not been the Chingkangshan road, the Chinese proletariat would not have been able to seize political power or establish the new socialist China; had there been no continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship, we would be unable to oppose and guard against revisionism, consolidate proletarian dictatorship and prevent capitalist restoration. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the whole Party, the whole army and people of the whole country destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and smashed their plots to restore capitalism. The masses, by the hundreds of millions, have sharply criticized revisionism, strengthened all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the various spheres of the superstructure, actively fostered the revolutionary spirit, and brought on an accelerated development of the national economy. This is a grand victory for the great cultural revolution, for Chairman Mao's theory and practice of continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship and for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

However, the glorious victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution does not signify the end of struggle. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The current great cultural revolution is merely the first, and there will be more in the future." "The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in the country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance." In the wake of criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, we carried out the movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and criticize Water Margin and unfolded a mass debate on the educational front. All this fully proves that the struggle is continuing and the revolution is going deeper. We must clearly understand that the main contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, understand these two classes and the struggle between them, and understand the nature, the objectives, the tasks and future of the socialist revolution. We must continue to foster the revolutionary spirit of Chingkangshan and fight against heaven and earth, class enemies and revisionism. At present, the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts blowing in society with the aim of negating the great cultural revolution and attacking socialist new things, is actually intended to practice restoration and regression; it is a clear-cut manifestation of the revisionist line representing bourgeois

opposition to the proletariat. That class enemies oppose and strangle revolutionary new things is something determined by their reactionary class nature and there is nothing strange about it. The question is that there are also some people within the revolutionary ranks who, owing to their failure to shift their class stand to the side of the proletariat and transform their bourgeois world view, have wantonly denounced and rejected revolutionary new things, thus serving as spokesmen for the exploiting classes. This reflects the sharpness of struggle between the two classes and the two lines. However, "Man's world is mutable." The forward development of human society cannot be held back. The newborn forces will certainly overcome the decadent forces, an unalterable objective law independent of man's will. Those who fan the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts have tried every way possible to turn back the chariot and hinder the advance of history, but their failure is inevitable. Victory will definitely belong to people who persist in struggle and continue the revolution.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." This line rich in profound philosophical and political implications sums up China's experience in revolutionary struggle and is a wholehearted appeal to all of the Party and people to persist in continuing the struggle under proletarian dictatorship. Our country's socialist revolution and construction have already developed to an important stage and the tasks facing us are arduous and extremely great. We must continue to criticize the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, criticize capitalist tendencies, consolidate and develop the victories won in the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry the socialist revolution in the sphere of the superstructure through to the end. We must restrict bourgeois rights, gradually reduce the three major differences, sweep away the soil that breeds the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and basically strengthen and consolidate proletarian dictatorship. We must realize the modernization of industry, agriculture, science and technology and national defense, and turn our country into a great, powerful socialist state before the end of this century, so that China will stand in the front ranks of the world and make still greater contributions to humanity. "Once Huangyangchieh is passed no other perilous place calls for a glance." The Chinese proletariat and revolutionary people have passed through the severe test of struggle at Huangyangchieh and been tempered in the storm of several decades of revolutionary struggle; henceforth, no matter how fierce the storms or how high the waves or tempestuous the flow of class struggle on our journey to communism, nothing will obstruct our continuous advance. If only we hold to the correct line, foster the dauntless revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, oppose and guard against revisionism, make unceasing revolution, bravely and unflinchingly scale the heights, then we will surely overcome all difficulties, defeat all enemies and march from victory to still greater victories.

When we recall the past, emotion wells up within us and we can look to the future with still greater confidence and vigor. In the new year we must ride the east wind released by the publication of the two poems by Chairman Mao, preserve and foster the same kind of vigor, revolutionary

enthusiasm and death-defying spirit as displayed in past revolutionary struggles, take class struggle as the key link, and adhere to the Party's basic line. In close connection with the practice of struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, we must seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, criticize revisionism, criticize the bourgeoisie, and resolutely hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We must safeguard and develop the fruits won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, ceaselessly strengthen the proletariat's all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and bravely go forward along the path of continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

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Revolutionary Torrents Cannot Be Resisted

- Study Chairman Mao's poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao"

by

Pao Pin (鲍 斌) and Erh Lien (洱 练), Artillery Corps of Peking Units

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/ No. 1, February 20, 1976)

Our joyful reading of Chairman Mao's poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" during the Spring Festival filled us with pride and excitement. Written by Chairman Mao in the autumn of 1965, this poem, with the great vision of a proletarian revolutionary, vividly depicted Marxist-Leninists as the roc who wings fanwise, storming the heavens with its heroic bearing and casting stinging and pungent scorn on the fretful sparrow--the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, scared out of its wits by the people's revolutionary struggles. This is a paean of victory to Marxism-Leninism, a militant declaration denouncing modern revisionism.

Today, as we read and study Chairman Mao's poem, recall the history of the last ten years and happily take stock of the excellent situation in the world, we are a hundred times more confident that historical laws cannot be resisted and the floods of revolution cannot be stemmed, that Marxism-Leninism is sure to win and the modern revisionists represented by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique will ultimately suffer ignominious defeat.

I

In 1962 Chairman Mao pointed out: "The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." The 1960's marked the beginning of this great earth-shaking era; "The roc wings fanwise, soaring ninety thousand li and rousing a raging cyclone," is a precise and figurative portrayal of Marxist-Leninists who have come to the fore in this great era. However, the Khrushchev revisionists who usurped Party and state leadership power in the Soviet Union in this period stepped up the promotion of a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Hanging out a Marxist signboard and unfurling a socialist banner, they restored capitalism internally, capitulated to imperialism externally and vainly attempted to strike down surging revolutionary movements everywhere in the world so as to turn back the wheel of history. "Winter clouds snow-laden, cotton fluffs flying, none or few the unfallen flowers;" the international communist movement and the revolutionary causes of the world's people were at a critical juncture. At this crucial moment, our great leader Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in unfolding a great struggle to expose and criticize the Soviet modern revisionists. At several meetings

of the international communist movement, our Party carried out face-to-face struggle with the Khrushchev renegade clique and from 1962 to 1964 launched a comprehensive debate over a series of important questions such as the general line of the international communist movement. Our Party published a series of anti-revisionist articles like "The Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" and the nine comments on the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, using the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to comprehensively and systematically expose and criticize the whole set of modern revisionist theories and line and to thoroughly bare the ugly features of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. This great debate between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism related to the success or failure of the international communist movement and to the fate of mankind. In this great struggle, Marxism-Leninism gave off an ever greater brilliance and the reactionary essence of modern revisionism was more exposed to the light of day. When Khrushchev, chieftain of the Soviet renegade clique, ultimately stepped down in utter disgrace, the anti-revisionist struggle of the revolutionary people throughout the world won a great victory. The splendid poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue--To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao," written by Chairman Mao in the fall of 1965, was a graphical summation of this battle of words and was at the same time also a clarion call urging us to go forward and persist in the anti-revisionist struggle to the end.

An important aspect of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism is how to look at the international situation, how to regard the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. Internationally, the 1960's was a period of changing winds, of waves and billows, a time of great flux, division and reorganization. "The blue sky on his back, he looks down to survey man's world with its towns and cities" portrays the far-sighted, global outlook of Marxist-Leninists who look with incomparable joy on the excellent situation of ebb and flow in the national liberation wars and the people's revolutions that stir up the four seas and shake the five continents. During the 1960's, the imperialist camp was already beginning to fall apart; US imperialism was falling down from the pinnacle of its extremely overbearing hegemonism over the capitalist world. National liberation movements were developing vigorously in Asia, Africa and Latin America, particularly those sparked by the fiery flames of armed struggle. The armed struggle of the people of the southern part of Vietnam, which broke out in 1960, developed at an accelerated pace and continuously smashed the aggressive war of US imperialism, winning one great victory after another; from the 1950's to the 1960's the Laotian people persisted in protracted armed struggle against the US-Laotian reactionaries; the people of Palestine got off to a good start with armed struggle on January 1, 1965. The national liberation movements in Africa gradually shook off the influence of non-violence from the 1950's and turned into extensive armed struggles. In 1962, after persisting through seven years of liberation war, the Algerian people finally won national independence; the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Azania also lit the fires of armed struggle one after another. Latin America, which the US has all along regarded as a "backyard," has already turned into an outpost of struggle against the US. In 1964, Panama launched an earth-shaking patriotic struggle against the US

to regain sovereignty over the canal. In 1965, the Dominican people resisted armed invasion from US imperialism after overthrowing the pro-US dictatorial government; people's armed struggles broke out in Columbia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Guatamala one after another. In sum, the beacon lights were bobbing up everywhere in the world, "gunfire licks the heavens, shells pit the earth." The vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the focal areas of the various contradictions in the world and are the mainspring of world revolution. Support for national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America is a comprehensive question relating to the whole of the international proletarian revolutionary cause and the touchstone for distinguishing true Marxism from the false.

Just like the small sparrow in the underbrush, all Khrushchev revisionists are frightened to death by the successive sounds of gunfire from people's revolutions. They have completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and completely betrayed proletarian internationalism; they do not make revolution, nor do they permit others to make revolution. Khrushchev howled in alarm that "local wars are now a very frightening business in the contemporary era," "a small spark can lead to world war." The Khrushchev gang of renegades all intractably subscribed to the theory that weapons decide everything, saw only the force of nuclear weapons but not the force of people's revolution. They slandered armed struggle by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America as wanting "to push the world into thermonuclear war," which is "equivalent to promising freedom for peoples in all countries after they die." This is the typical renegade philosophy of survival. In order to save their skins, they had no scruples about kneeling down and capitulating to the enemy; worse, they vainly tried to compel revolutionary people to follow their lead in doing this. Actually, the question lies not with weapons, but with men. Thoroughgoing revolutionaries are fearless and are not intimidated by weapons of any kind; but the despicable revisionists, just like the sparrows in the bush, can also be frightened off by a straw man. At the time of the Second International, there were no nuclear weapons but that old-time revisionist Kautsky and his like also said that: "War has already become an instrument for destroying everything, so a people's party, be it a proletarian or peasant party, cannot automatically regard it as the means for attaining liberation." It can be seen that Khrushchev and his like did not invent anything but only inherited the sycophancy of the old revisionists. "This is one hell of a mess! Oh, I want to flit and fly away;" this line draws the despicable image of those modern revisionists who are hostile to the people and fearful of revolution. Their "flying away" is to flit to a side opposite the revolutionary people, to degenerate into a heap of dog's dung spurned by mankind.

II

"Where may I ask? The sparrow replies: To a jewelled palace in Elfland's hills."

The jewelled palace longed for by the sparrow is the so-called "world of three withouts," plus a "goulash" style of communism. In December 1959, Khrushchev, as in a fable, predicted: "The new year can be entered in the

historical chronicle as one marking the beginning of mankind's ambition to have a world without weapons and armies, a world without war." At the start of 1960, this prophet again told people that "realization of mankind's long cherished dream--a world without weapons and war, is a day that is already close at hand." At the same time as he was cooking up his fantasy on the "world of three withouts," in 1961, at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev dished out a "welfare communism," and by April 1964 he figuratively described this sham communism as "a good dish of goulash." Khrushchev asserted that we didn't need to realize communism through people's revolutionary struggle, that we "can't push people toward communism by means of war," that we need only wait until there was more goulash on the tables of "those who are building communism." By then, every "person who lives by means of his stomach will say: Communism is a good system," and even the capitalist would "turn around and join the Communist Party." Just look, there are no weapons, no armies, no war, and there is only good food even the mouths of capitalists water: isn't this the jewelled palace in Elfland's hills,the world of the immortals? Here class struggle dies out, people's revolutions are done away with and all that remains is that feeling in your stomach--fill it and survive; what a truly philistine philosophy!

Early in 1905, Lenin pointed out: "As long as society is still divided into classes and the phenomenon of man exploiting man still exists, war is unavoidable." The present era is still an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution; so long as this period is not concluded, revolutionary wars of the oppressed peoples and nations, wars of imperialist aggression and gangster wars among the imperialists are bound to occur. As a matter of fact, since the Second World War the sound of gunfire in the world has not ceased for even a day. The independence of many nations and the liberation of hundreds of millions of people have all been won through armed struggle. The reason why renegades like Khrushchev and his gang made such a great din to advertise "the world of three withouts" was to contrive an illusion of peace to paralyze the fighting will of the people, to disarm the revolution, to quench the fires of just war, the better to realize their fond dream of "Soviet-US cooperation to dictate the world." "Don't you know a triple pact was signed under the bright autumn moon two years ago?" In August 1963, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain signed the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique boasted as mankind's first step toward getting rid of nuclear war. Actually, the true objective of this treaty was only to insure that the states who already possessed nuclear weapons would continue to monopolize them and that the states that did not have nuclear weapons would not be allowed to develop them. After the Soviet Union and the United States carried out several hundred nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, after they had gathered sufficient data, they then tried to restrict, by a piece of paper, other nations from carrying out nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, in order to deprive them of the right to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves, so that the superpowers could carry out nuclear blackmail against the people of the whole world, to make the people of all nations submit to their nuclear threats. Such wishful calculations have not deceived people. The three-nation pact was, above all, directed at socialist China. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique

frenziedly tried to use this treaty to bind China hand and foot, so as not to allow China to proceed with nuclear defense against nuclear threats, to put China under the "nuclear umbrella" of Soviet revisionism and to turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionism. But the great socialist China just didn't buy and, within two years of the signing of the triple pact, successfully carried out its own nuclear tests, almost at the same time Khrushchev announced his downfall. The triple pact ignominiously went bankrupt.

The source of modern revisionism derives from bourgeois influences and from yielding to imperialist pressures. Internally, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique restores capitalism and oppresses the laboring people; externally it capitulates to imperialism and opposes people's revolution in all countries; these two aspects are closely interrelated. Thus, the "goulash" slogan, just like the one for the "world of three withouts," is a figleaf that represents the interests of the Soviet bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie, meets the needs of imperialism and deceives the people of both the Soviet Union and the world. It is not only welfarism and vulgar sociology, but also a way to cover up the reality of ruthless class struggle in the Soviet Union and to divert the attention of the hard-pressed Soviet people. The rise of revisionism means the rise of the bourgeoisie to power; bourgeois dictatorship replaces proletarian dictatorship and the laboring people who were once masters of the state have again become the exploited and oppressed slaves. In society under the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, a small privileged class lives off the fat of the land and runs amock while the broad masses are plunged into deep misery. Under these conditions, the first battle objective for the Soviet people is to smash the rule of revisionism and re-build the proletarian dictatorship. How can we speak of any goulash? According to what Khrushchev said, if we substitute good food for the revolutionary spirit, we will be able to build communism. However, contrary to Khruschev's claim that the Soviet Union would complete communism by 1980 (that time is now not far off), the results show that not only is there not a trace of communism but neither can we see any socialism. Let such sham communism and true capitalism better go to hell!

III

"Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down." This line possesses all the force of a thunderbolt, profoundly expresses the incomparable indignation and great disdain of Marxist-Leninists toward the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and heralds the revolutionary new high tide of a world being turned upside down.

In the ten years since Chairman Mao's poem was written, great changes have already taken place in the world situation. The Third World's struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism grows stronger every day and has become the main force pushing history forward. From the start of the 1960's up to the present, more than 60 countries have won national independence, greatly changing the face of the world. At present, there are already 47 independent states in Africa that comprise more than 90 percent of Africa's population. The three countries of Indochina won a historically great victory

in the war resisting the US and for national salvation after protracted armed struggle; they have set a splendid example of small states defeating large ones and weak states defeating the strong. These great victories of national liberation movements did not lead to nuclear war, did not result in the annihilation of mankind nor were they a matter of the "independence of the corpse" or "freedom after death." On the contrary, the revolutionary storms of hundreds of millions of the oppressed peoples throughout the world, high in spirit and firm in determination--"The west wind scatters leaves over Changan"--are pulling down the last defenses of the old world.

Over the last ten years the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has slid still faster down the revisionist road. Brezhnev came to power in place of Khrushchev and pushed a revisionist line that went from bad to worse; he completed the evolution which went from restoring capitalism to social-imperialism, a process that had already begun during the period Khrushchev was in power. This renegade clique is more forceful in suppressing the resistance of the oppressed people internally and externally they carry out policies of aggression and expansion. Because they go against the trends of the times, because they are isolated and have nothing to fall back on, they can only count on weapons and frenziedly expanding armaments and war preparations. In the last ten years, the Soviet Union's military strength has risen sharply and its aggressive ambitions have grown ever greater. If we speak of Khrushchev's time as one in pursuit of "Soviet-US cooperation in dictating the world," then we can say the current period under the Brezhnev renegade clique is one of competing with the US for world hegemony, of vainly trying to establish a large colonial empire to span Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. If we say that Khrushchev in his days was hostile to the people and fearful of revolution, then the Brezhnev renegade clique has already become the executioner directly suppressing people's revolutions in every country. If they clamored for a "world of three withouts" in Khrushchev's time, then Brezhnev's renegade clique has already brought about the "world of three mores" with more weapons and more armies and with increased danger of war. Soviet social-imperialism has become the most ferocious enemy of everyone in the world and is the most dangerous source of a new world war at the present time.

Currently, this social-imperialism has become more ambitious and overbearing and adopts an aggressive posture in its counter-revolutionary global strategy. This in no way shows its strength but merely shows it to be outwardly strong and inwardly weak, fierce of visage but faint of heart. An increase of several hundred guided missiles, several thousand tanks and tens of thousands of cannon does not play any determining role. The determining factors are the trend of the times and the will of the people. The Soviet social-imperialism's aggressive expansion everywhere already sows the seeds of its own destruction. It has further aggravated its internal crisis by resorting to Hitler's methods in demanding that people tighten their belts and substitute guns for butter. At present, the Soviet military budget already accounts for 20 percent of its gross national income, which surpasses the proportion for the military budget in Hitler's Germany on the eve of World War II. In the two five-year plans from 1966 to 1975, a decline in grain output occurred seven times. Last year, the per capita grain output

was not only lower than the final year of Khrushchev's rule--1964, but lower than in 1913, an average harvest year in the Tzarist Russian period. Years ago, the socialist Soviet Union was basically an exporter of grain; in the eleven years under Khrushchev, the Soviet Union imported a total of 14 million tons of grain; in eleven years under Brezhnev, it has imported a total of 32 million tons. Faring even worse with conditions deteriorating every year, the jewelled palace in Elfland's hills has disappeared. Today, the broad masses in the Soviet Union are short of potatoes, have less meat and even bread has become a problem. The goulash is no more than drawing cakes to satisfy hunger and literally has become bitter irony. Satellites go up to the sky, the red flag falls to the ground; cannon raise their heads, the people suffer the consequences. This ruthless reality in the Soviet Union has become a lesson by negative example for people throughout the world. It can only encourage us to persist in and consolidate proletarian dictatorship, strengthen our resolve to oppose and guard against revisionism, oppose restoration and regression and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The revolutionary people of the world will further unfold struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and smash socialist imperialism's arrogant ambition to dominate the world. These ants, mayflies and flies, these sparrows of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, always regard themselves as fine brave fellows; their vain efforts to hold back the wheel of history will simply result in their being crushed beneath that wheel.

"The green hills cannot keep it hidden, eventually it will flow eastward." Mankind is bound to advance, revolution is bound to develop. In this great earth-shaking era of ours, the emergence of social-imperialism is an expression of the daily intensifying class struggle in the international arena, the prelude to the impending approach of still greater revolutionary storms. The present international situation is one characterized by great disorder under heaven. The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains; the factors for revolution and war are all clearly on the rise. Just like the roc, the world's proletariat and revolutionary people wing fanwise, hovering overhead; they will churn up a still greater whirlwind and sweep all vermin onto the garbage heap of history. Let revisionist sparrows in the bush tremble before this great storm!

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